

Helms	Lott	Santorum
Hutchison	Lugar	Smith
Inhofe	Mack	Snowe
Jeffords	McCain	Stevens
Kassebaum	McConnell	Thomas
Kempthorne	Murkowski	Thurmond
Kyl	Nickles	Warner
Lieberman	Pressler	

NAYS—52

Akaka	Feinstein	Moynihan
Baucus	Ford	Murray
Biden	Glenn	Nunn
Bingaman	Graham	Packwood
Boxer	Harkin	Pryor
Bradley	Heflin	Reid
Breaux	Hollings	Robb
Bryan	Inouye	Rockefeller
Bumpers	Johnston	Roth
Byrd	Kennedy	Sarbanes
Cochran	Kerrey	Shelby
Cohen	Kerry	Simon
Conrad	Kohl	Simpson
D'Amato	Lautenberg	Specter
Daschle	Leahy	Thompson
Dodd	Levin	Wellstone
Dorgan	Mikulski	
Feingold	Moseley-Braun	

NOT VOTING—1

Pell

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 47, the nays are 52. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was rejected.

Mr. FORD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BRADLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BRADLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BRADLEY. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BRADLEY pertaining to the introduction of S. 759 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BENNETT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is recognized.

Mr. BENNETT. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to continue for up to 15 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MEDICARE'S IMPENDING BANKRUPTCY

Mr. BENNETT. Madam President, last evening, as I sat in the chair, the distinguished minority leader came on the floor and made a statement about, among other things, Medicare. There were many of the things he said on that occasion with which I disagree and so I take this opportunity, while my memory is still fresh on the minority leader's comments, to register my disagreement.

The reason I am doing it this quickly, and I hope this completely, is be-

cause I believe that the issue of Medicare's impending bankruptcy is so important that we should not allow statements that are incorrect to stay on the RECORD uncorrected. We should make sure this debate is as careful and as correct as it can possibly be. The stakes are much too high for this debate to take place in an atmosphere that some might consider demagogic.

I will take several of the minority leader's statements now and respond to them specifically. The first one: He said—and I am quoting from this morning's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6128:

Republicans have discovered that the Medicare Program faces challenges in the years ahead. Democrats told them and the Nation that 2 years ago when we shored up the Medicare Program and cut the deficit, all without Republican votes.

Madam President, I apologize for not having this particular chart made up in a chart big enough to show the world. Perhaps the television can pick it up for those that are watching. But I am sure those in the Chamber can at least see the direction of the curve, which is the hospital insurance trust fund balance, in billions, starting in 1994; it goes up slightly in 1995 and then begins a precipitous plunge to zero in the year 2002.

The reason I hold this chart up is because the minority leader has said, "Democrats told the Nation that 2 years ago." This chart, Madam President, became available on April 5, 1995, not necessarily 2 years ago.

I sat in the Chamber in the other body when the President of the United States addressed the House of Representatives in September 1993, roughly 2 years ago, and gave a masterful discourse on health care. He did not mention anything relating to the facts contained in this chart.

If, in fact, Democrats told Members this 2 years ago, the President of the United States neglected to mention it when he made his statement to the joint session of Congress.

I will not claim to have participated in all portions of the health care debate last year. I do not think any Member can make that claim. I watched the health care debate very closely. I cannot recall a single instance where a single Democratic spokesman told Members in last year's debate that the Medicare trust fund was in any kind of trouble.

The minority leader talked about the budget. I participated in the budget debate when the new administration came in. The adoption of the budget of which the minority leader is so proud, and I cannot recall—and I would like to have him point out to me if I am wrong—a single instance during that budget debate where the Democrats told Members that this trust fund was headed for disaster, indeed, extinct, in the year 2002.

I think the minority leader is incorrect when he says the Republicans are just discovering something that the world has known and that the Demo-

crats openly told Members about 2 years ago.

Second, he says:

House Republicans are considering reductions in Medicare growth on the order of \$300 billion. Senate Republicans have said they will need to reduce normal Medicare growth by \$200 to \$250 billion.

Then he goes on to say this is normal growth; the Republicans are cutting this growth in a way that is irresponsible.

What he does not tell Members is that during the health care debate last Congress, the President himself projected that we needed to reduce Medicare by \$118 billion. I am not going to quibble with him—yes, the \$200 billion figure that is talked about in the Senate now is obviously much higher than the \$118 figure that the President talked about.

The point is that the President, in last year's debate, and Democrats on this floor in last year's debate said, "We must reduce Medicare," and the figure the President came up with was \$118 billion.

I do not think it is appropriate to say the Republicans have suddenly discovered the idea of reducing Medicare in the hundreds of billions of dollars, and is that not terrible, when the President himself was saying we have to reduce Medicare from the projected rates by in excess of \$100 billion. That was OK, then. Now, Republicans are being bashed.

The one I feel the most strongly about, Madam President, is this statement where the minority leader said:

Medicare Program costs are increasing because all health insurance costs are increasing. In fact, on a per capita basis, Medicare and Medicaid costs are increasing at the same rate as privately insured costs.

On this one, Madam President, I did go to the chart makers and I have produced a chart. I will put it here and share it with the Members of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that the figures contained in this table be printed in the RECORD following my Statement.

(See exhibit No. 1.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Here are medical expenditures. The dark figure—no metaphor intended—the dark figure is for public expenditures for health care; the light figure is for private expenditures.

The expenditures are calculated in terms of percentage growth. That is, if we look at 1985, in that year, public expenditures for health care went up at a rate of 8.8 percent per year, while private expenditures went up 10.3 percent. We can see in these years there is a disparity.

Some years public ones go up faster than private; other years private expenditures go up substantially faster than public expenditures. We can see that, in general terms, it is around 8 or 9 percent in public expenditures and slightly more than that in private expenditures.

Then in 1989, something happened. In 1989, the rate of increase for public expenditures went to its highest level—11.9 percent; private levels going up at 10.3 percent. Then, in 1990, public expenditures went up 13.2 percent; for the second year in a row, public expenditures went up faster than private, a trend that has continued to this day unabated.

In 1991, public expenditures are still up in the double digits—12.6 percent, but market forces are beginning to assert themselves in the private marketplace, and the private expenditures only increased 5.6 percent. It did not stay down that low the next year. They came up to 6.9; but public expenditures stayed in double digits at 10.8 percent.

Now they have been getting better. In 1993, public expenditures 8.5, but private is 7.2. In 1994, public expenditures come down to 7.8; but private drops to 5.3 percent.

For the minority leader to say that the reason we cannot do something about the expanding growth of Medicare is because Medicare expenditures are going up at the same rate as private expenditures, is to ignore the facts of the case.

Private expenditures are coming down in terms of the percentage growth at a faster rate than public expenditures are coming down. Indeed, Madam President, if we were to take the minority leader's statement at face value, where he says:

Medicare Program costs are increasing because all health care insurance costs are increasing on a per capita basis. Medicare and Medicare costs are increasing at the same rate as privately insured costs.

If that statement were true, that would mean that Medicare and Medicaid costs would be increasing at 5.3 percent per year, which figure, Madam President, is within the band the Budget Committee is considering for increases for Medicare and Medicaid.

I have sat in on the budget briefing and I have heard the budgeteers say, "If only we could get the rate of increase down to 5 percent, we could solve all of our problems." The rate of increase is down to 5 percent in private expenditures.

The minority leader thinks the two are the same. Perhaps he has them confused and thinks that the private people have not done a good enough job and the private expenditures are up in this kind of level for public expenditures. In fact, they are not. They have, ever since 1989, come down at a faster rate than the public expenditures come down and they are leading the way.

This is the point we need to keep in mind, then, Madam President, with respect to Medicare and the reforms that are necessary. We cannot demagog this issue. We must stick with the facts. Our goal is to make the system that takes care of our elderly as stable, as secure, and as certain for the future as the system that takes care of the rest of the population.

If we can do it as responsible public servants at the same rate of increase

that exists in the rest of the population, we can solve all of our budgetary problems and the disastrous circumstance indicated in this table will go away.

Madam President, I have nothing but respect for our distinguished minority leader. I consider him a friend and one of the more reasonable and certainly most thoughtful Members of this body. I feel that the information that he shared with the Senate last night is inaccurate, and it becomes Members in this debate to make sure that the record is set straight as quickly as possible, because the stakes in this debate are so high.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT NO. 1.

CBO estimates for total medical and health care spending in the public and private sector from 1985 until 1994. The figures include spending for administrative costs, construction, and research and development as well as personal health care costs associated with doctors and hospitals. The figures shown represent a percentage increase over the previous year's spending level.

MEDICAL EXPENDITURES

Year	Public (percent)	Private (percent)
1985	8.8	10.3
1986	8.9	6.1
1987	8.9	8.5
1988	9.0	12.6
1989	11.9	10.3
1990	13.2	10.6
1991	12.6	5.6
1992	10.8	6.9
1993	8.5	7.2
1994	7.8	5.3

Source: CRS.

Mr. GORTON. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM.) Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Utah is recognized.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. HATCH and Mr. PRYOR, pertaining to the introduction of S. 758 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, I see no other Senator seeking recognition at this time. Therefore, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REGARDING A PRIVATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI, OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN, TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 53, expressing the sense of Congress regarding a private visit by the President of the Republic of China on Taiwan to the United States.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, I am sorry I have to do this, but in behalf of another Senator who could not be here at this time, I do object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Chair.

THE SENATE CHAMBER DESKS—A BRIEF HISTORY

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, recently I announced that I was not going to be seeking another term in the Senate. It has been a wonderful opportunity these last 16½ years to serve in this great body, to be serving with all of my great colleagues and friends from all the 50 States, and all the wonderful staff people that make this place run. I just want to thank all of them so much for their many kindnesses shown to me.

Mr. President, I was cleaning out my desk a while ago and just looking through something I have had in my desk for some time that was prepared by some of the individuals, I think, in the Historian's office. That is not the proper name for those who prepared this. But I thought while there were interested parties involved, I might read a few pages of some of the history of the desks in this Chamber. This is a brief history.

When British troops burned the U.S. Capitol in 1814 during the War of 1812, they severely damaged the Senate Chamber and destroyed the original furnishings. The rebuilt Chamber was completed in 1819 and the Senate ordered 48 new desks at a cost of \$34 each from Thomas Constantine. A New York cabinetmaker, he also constructed desks for the House of Representatives. Many of these early desks remain in use in the Senate Chamber today. As new states have entered the Union over the years, additional desks of identical design have been built and placed in use.

Throughout most of the 19th century a senator's only office was his desk on the Senate floor.

We did not have, I might say, the Senate office buildings. This was our office, the desk that was on the Senate floor.

but gradually separate rooms were assigned. The earliest offices were Committee rooms occupied by their chairmen; additional space later became available under the Olmsted Terraces on the West Front of the Capitol. Finally, with the completion of the first Senate office building [the Russell Building] in 1909, all senators were able to occupy suitable offices on Capitol Hill.

Over the years, modifications have been made to the Chamber desks to provide more room for books and papers. Beginning in the